

114 there are to be found many points of contact in their psychic and religious beliefs. It is this, in part, which binds us together.

105 There can be no doubt that the Ainu now living are the last remnant of one of the old aboriginal races formerly occupying Japan. They were here when the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and his retainers crossed from Kyūshū to Yamato about 660 B. C. The origin of the race is lost in obscurity. The old traditions, still current among some folk, of their descent from brute beasts are incredible. But their language seems to

● [197] point, both in vocabulary and grammar, to an Aryan ancestry.

101 The present habitat of the Ainu is the southern half of Saghalien and Hokkaidō. The largest numbers of them are to be found in Hidaka, Tokachi, and Ifurikoku. But place-names prove them to have once inhabited the whole of Japan. It appears that at first the Japanese called them *Tsuchi-gumo* which, when written with the Chinese characters, means "Earth-spiders." They also called them *Ebisu* or *Emiss* which means "Barbarians." But when properly analyzed, the old name *Tsuchi-gumo* or "Earth-spiders" comes to mean, in Ainu, "Pit-dwellers." This is exactly what the ancient Ainu of Hokkaidō and Saghalien were during the cold seasons of the year.

101 It is pertinent to remark here that many of the
171 place-names throughout the whole of Japan show an Ainu origin. The beautiful Mount Fuji, formerly an active volcano, is one of these, for its name in the Ainu tongue really means "Ancestress" and "Fire Goddess." Fire is always called *Fuji* by this people when worshipped, but at other times its name in Hokkaidō is *Abe*. In ancestor worship, the men always worship the mother of the race in the fire upon the hearth under the name *Fuji*, "Grand-mother." Subashiri, at the foot of Fuji, means in Ainu "Steaming-land."

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Saghalin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the number of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon* [361] in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 13 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum. [166] [137]

302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces, and tattoo the mouth like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same. 172 304 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other, 150777, is presumably a fish plate. 415 142 The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home. [197]

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yellow, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, [515] it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, xi, 33-50.

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips. 231

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"¹ 114 [144] 121 [266]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised." 157 181 [266]

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there. 197 184

¹ Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

south? They probably fled along the coastline in their "dug-outs," those who moved south occasionally landing to hunt or to attack their pursuers. Thus we can account for the occurrence along that coast of some of their implements, but of no pits, which they were not likely to dig in such circumstances. Having then retreated as far south as Ushongosh (Hakodate), and with the conquering Ainu still at their heels, there was nothing more natural than that they should cross the Tsugaru Strait,¹ only a few miles in width, carrying with them their kitchen-middens and pottery.

The Ainu crossed after them, and, pushing the retreating Koro-pok-kuru further and further south, exterminated them, and became the masters of the whole of Japan, the Kuriles, and Sakhalin. As they were thus pursued by the Ainu, whom they knew as a warlike people, and stronger than themselves, there seems to me no cause for wonder that the Koro-pok-kuru did not dig any pits while on the main island of Nippon, first, because these pits would have been the sure means of bringing the Ainu on their track, to their certain annihilation; next, because the climate, being a great deal warmer, they had no need for them. On the other hand, it is more than probable that the retreaters carried with them their kitchen-middens and pottery, which constituted their treasures, and without which they could not have prepared their food. The barbarous Ainu then came in contact with the Japanese, at whose hands they received the same treatment as that which they had inflicted on the Koro-pok-kuru. Little by little the land so easily conquered was lost again, and the conquering Ainu were ere long in retreat towards the north. They were beaten and defeated by the more civilised Japanese, and the few who survived had to cross over the Tsugaru Strait back to Yezo. There is not a single Ainu now to be found in Nippon, with the exception of a child, a half-caste, whose mother was an Ainu, and who lives about sixty miles south of Awomori. The mother of this child was the last of her race who was born on and who inhabited the main island of Nippon.

Ainu blood can be traced in many of the Japanese in the northern part of Nippon, especially between Shiranoka to Awomori, and also some corrupted Ainu words are still in use in the dialect spoken in that part of Japan.

¹ The opposite coast of Nippon can be seen plainly from Hakodate.

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Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing¹¹⁷⁵, and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basha" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869¹¹⁷⁷. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started¹¹⁷⁷. With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming¹¹⁷⁷. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basha" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture¹²¹.

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from *The Aborigines of Hokkaido* published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintenance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

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Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

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If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

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These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternity /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin
Southeast Siberia RX1

/1 cont. /

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As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

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Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

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These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

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But on what basis are they to be classified?

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Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Oroch; the other

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Islands
Ainu AB6

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/117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Sšumerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssumari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

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4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

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so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal